

THE CATHOLIC MIND

VOL. XXXVII

OCTOBER 8, 1939

No. 883

WE MUST KEEP OUT OF ALL EUROPEAN WARS

DAVID I. WALSH



WAR MEANS A CRISIS IN OUR CIVILIZATION

ROBERT I. GANNON, S.J.



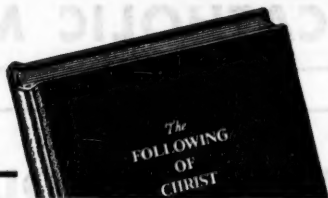
THE COUNTERFEITS OF DEMOCRACIES

JOSEPH C. HUSSLEIN, S.J.

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THE CATHOLIC MIND, October 8, 1939. Volume XXXVII, No. 883. Published semi-monthly by The America Press, 53 Park Place, New York. Subscription postpaid: United States, 5 cents a copy; yearly, \$1.00; foreign, \$1.25. Entered as second-class matter October 22, 1914, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 4, 1879. Acceptance for mailing at special rates of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized on June 29, 1913. Trade-mark "Catholic Mind," Reg. U. S. Pat. Off.

THE CATHOLIC MIND

VOL. XXXVII

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The United States Must Keep Out of War

SENATOR DAVID I. WALSH

From an address delivered by Chairman Walsh of the Senate Naval Affairs Committee over the National Broadcasting Company network, September 4, 1939.

FOR months past I have repeatedly urged the absolute necessity for the United States to maintain a policy of complete detachment from the diplomatic intrigues, military alliances and war which recently have harassed practically every part of the old world. I have alluded to our experience in the World War wherein we sent men and treasure to the battlefields of Europe in the idealistic belief, then loudly proclaimed, that our intervention would establish a new world order based on justice and democracy. It is now obvious that instead of promoting peace the treaty written after that war laid the groundwork for constant discord and the present war. In the many years I have been a member of the United States Senate, I have never heard a Senator or other public man defend its basic justice.

We were asked by the terms of that treaty to join in preserving in the language of the covenant proposed—"the territorial integrity and political independence" of virtually the entire world. We agreed, if our nation have its approval, to lend our moral influence and under

some conditions, our physical support, to sanction the continuation of the political status quo, arbitrarily set up by that treaty, not infrequently in contravention of historical and justifiable considerations.

The framers of that Treaty miscalculated the facts. They failed to realize the impossibility of suppressing for all time the aspirations and deep-seated instincts, of intrinsically proud and ambitious peoples, however debatable their concept of justice.

Whether this analysis of the situation is all inclusive or not, it is an incontrovertible fact that our people long ago positively determined not to become embroiled in the bitter strife proceeding constantly from the territorial disputes resulting from the Versailles Treaty.

As human beings and Americans, we are imbued with deepest sympathy for the masses of people now confronted by the horrors of war. We can well understand the sentiments they harbor over the terrifying prospects of the present strife in Europe. How tragic and how helpless is their plight, racing with fear and trembling hostilities that will destroy their homes, lay waste their lands, visit innocent non-combatants with poverty, death and the slaughter of their youth! The man or woman would be indeed unfeeling who is not profoundly moved by the inhuman situation in Europe.

We are prepared, I am sure, to use every means at our disposal, short of involving our own nation, to bring about amicable settlements of the questions responsible for this grave situation. In fact, the country has generally approved of the overtures already made by President Roosevelt to certain foreign powers in the interest of peace and his efforts to safeguard innocent women and children.

Let me speak plainly to you, my fellow countrymen. The non-involvement of the United States in the war now raging in Europe is almost entirely within the control of your federal officials, the President, the State

Department and the Congress. They are the sole agencies that can involve the country in this war. We must cooperate with them whole-heartedly so long as their attitude is one of strict neutrality.

We must, however, be on guard to bring the full force of public opinion against any position of an unneutral character that the executive and legislative branches of our government assume. I repeat, whether we shall continue to enjoy peace and keep American youths out of this slaughter depends upon the capacity of your public officials to act regardless of their sympathies. Is this impossible? Many believe because of our strong and largely one-sided sympathies that this is impossible. It is expressed in the constantly reiterated phrase, "We cannot keep out."

It is difficult to be master of one's sympathies when they are intense, as they are likely to be and especially when one's sympathies are exhilarated by tales of atrocities. When we read these stories remember that war is a bestial game and let us become more determined than ever to keep our sons out of the savagery of war.

Our present position is obvious. It is clearly mandated by the will of practically all of our citizens.

THE PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGNS

Certain events are transpiring in our country today which render it increasingly difficult for us to retain this much desired strict neutrality. I refer to the very intensive propaganda campaigns that will be staged. This is not new for America, nor surprising. It has happened before. It occurred before and during the World War. It has continued in relation to the questions of the foreign debts, the World Court, and other European power-diplomacy objectives.

Between 1914 and 1917 the campaign to embroil us in war reached its zenith. Recall, for they will now be repeated, the atrocity stories, terrifying in every detail, since proved in large measure to be without au-

thentic foundation. Remember the great moral issue that was drawn at that time between Democracy and Autocracy. Recall the appeals to our self-interest: "If you do not fight this enemy of Democracy on European soil, you will have to fight it in America." Remember the flood of trained lecturers, even ministers of the Gospel, who overran the country delivering these very same arguments.

Recall also the prophecies of disaster to trade and loss of commercial loans if we did not fight side by side with the allies.

The results that followed are well known. Over 50,000 American youth were killed in France, hundreds of thousands more wounded, permanently disabled or bereft of reason. Billions of dollars spent in the struggle. Billions more loaned to our allies, never repaid, but constituting in the resentment aroused by our efforts to collect them, living proof of the old Shakespearean adage—"A loan oft loses both itself and friend."

Today history is repeating itself. Instead of being saved for posterity, the asserted objective of the World War—Democracy has been crushed and destroyed in many nations.

Do you believe the propagandists will not again feverishly start to work as they did in the World War years, disseminating the same fallacies calculated to lead us into another world holocaust?

PROPAGANDISTS' TACTICS

Let me allude to some of the principal fallacies. They will have a familiar ring. Perhaps you have unconsciously been impressed by some of these specious arguments which have already flooded the country.

First and foremost,—now that war rages in Europe, the United States will not be able to keep out of it. This argument rests on the false premise that we are

bound to take sides with the so-called Democracies. Otherwise, two harrowing consequences will ensue: Democracy will be destroyed in the world and we will be the next marked for extinction; and, our trade, commerce and financial relationships would be decimated by the victorious, ruthless dictators. Such assertions assume that if we do not fight in Europe, we will be forced to fight here. The answer to this fallacy is clear. If we must fight in self-defense, by all means, let us be prepared to make a fight that will insure a smashing defeat of our aggressors. Let us build an army, navy and air-force not only adequate for our self-protection but one that will command the respect and forbearance of the world. Let us spend billions for self-defense; not one penny to send American boys to death on foreign soil.

Secondly, the claim will be made by these same propagandists, and supported by some of our own high-minded citizens who have sympathy, based on blood ties or imagined identity of interests with the alleged democracies to preserve order in the world. While I am on the subject of the natural sympathy which some of our citizens have for their kinsfolk in foreign countries who are liable to be victims of aggression, let me make this observation—we are all prone to sympathies for one side or another. That contributed to our attitude and final action in the last war. But the basic issue is clear. It is, are those who bespeak sympathy and favor intervention (I note most of them are beyond the war age), prepared to send their sons, husbands and fathers to mayhem and death in these foreign lands? I have my sympathies and you have yours, but I conceive that during my twenty-five years of public life, I have never had a more serious or solemn obligation to my countrymen than that which confronts me now—the solemn duty and grave responsibility of keeping America from participating in the present European war.

According to this view we are, as they would have us believe, under an almost divinely imposed obligation to enter into selected foreign disputes and be prepared to fight, if necessary, to settle them. This contention, it may be, is commendable in purpose, but it fails to acknowledge the incontrovertible fact that where a nation interferes in international complications, it must expect inevitably to suffer the consequences of involvement in war.

Thirdly, other propagandists argue that Germany and Russia are Godless nations and hate religion. Both are alleged to be intent upon destroying organized religion as we know it in the Christian world.

I am a sincere believer, as most Americans are in the American system of individual liberty, free enterprise, and constitutional rights of freedom of religious worship.

Foreign philosophies which deny basic rights to the people are in principle and method equally unsatisfactory to me, whether they be totalitarian Soviet states which suppress belief in God and deny the rights of private property, or the totalitarian Nazi state which discriminates against class or creed.

While most regrettable, these un-American theories are immaterial so far as our diplomatic and business relations are concerned. Any other view is unmindful of our history wherein we have from the very beginning striven to maintain friendly relations with all foreign peoples irrespective of their religion or political philosophies. As Americans, desiring to live in peace with the world, we must be tolerant of the beliefs of others, however contrary to our ideals; and acknowledge their right to establish systems of government of their own choosing. It is indeed unfortunate if anywhere people are enslaved. However, we cannot jeopardize our own self-interest to free them unless we desire to wage continuous warfare in all parts of the world where inalienable rights are denied.

PLAY NO FAVORITES

Apart from our sympathies, we should play no official favorites. Above all, we must fix our minds upon the one objective most to be desired by our people—peace. Let us resolve never on any pretext or at any behest, however appealing and subtle, to be drawn into another vortex similar to that of 1917. If we must fight for democracy, for liberty, for justice, for home and fireside, for the priceless possessions of American citizenship, let it be on American soil when we are attacked, our lands invaded, or when enemies make warlike movements toward contiguous territory of the American continent, which would directly endanger our security.

UNITED STATES NOT ENDANGERED

The United States, more than any other country in the world, is free from the possibilities of starvation, invasion, and economic domination. There may be some justification for countries taking sides in a war between two rival groups of foreign powers, who fear these perils, but we have no such excuse. Furthermore, it seems to me, it is ridiculous to say that anything like a real invasion of this country can be made unless all other nations of the world should combine against us.

It is certain, if anything is certain, that a world bristling with national enmities, a world divided into warlike groups, can be no menace to us while we remain definitely neutral. We ought to do this for no other reason than that, if all the rest of the world crumble, we shall preserve for humanity a haven of safety, containing all the elements on which we may continue to build a prosperous democracy.

A strong neutral position will enable America to do more for humanity in general than an America growing rich through selling arms and munitions to

belligerents, thereby arousing the hatred of those to whom we are unable to make sales of arms and munitions, and, after the war, with almost certainty, being plunged into another and greater depression.

Still other propagandists, often through the medium of some of our own citizens, sought recently to have us "soft pedal" our foreign policy by "not showing our hand" in such a manner as not to give virtual assurance of our intention and determination to stay out of a European war. This attitude would be plainly unneutral. But even more offensive than the palpable unneutrality is its placing the United States in the role of an international buffer. Under this policy, urged by people who otherwise pride themselves for the high morality of their objectives, we would hide our real intentions from the world.

It is my considered judgment, apart from the simple fact that it is a dishonorable policy for any self-respecting nation to pursue, that it is an exceedingly hazardous course and would ultimately lead only to war. For a time this bluff might work. Then there is the chance it might be discovered. When that occurred, we would be left with no alternative but to quit our bluffing or fight. In the last instance we would be projected into a devastating war; in the first, our foreign policy would stand scorned before the rest of the world and our people betrayed and humiliated even in the eyes of those whom we sought to help. In this game of bluff, we would be playing against masters of international chicanery and intrigue. Do we wish to play this same sort of a game? Is it consonant with our national honor? Only disaster, or disrespect could ensue for us. Such a policy smacks of European methods of diplomacy. It is not straightforward; it is not American.

Present events in the world have not emerged over night nor over nothing. They have been developing slowly over a period of years as a result of the in-

justices which some nations felt and still feel, rightly or wrongly, were perpetrated by the Treaty of Versailles.

Regardless of our sympathies, these quarrels are not our quarrels. They result from and belong to long existing European intrigue. Let European intrigue settle them. We have more urgent and compelling problems requiring our full time, attention, energy and ingenuity here in America.

The plain people of America ardently desire the opportunity under the protection and guidance of their own benevolent government to find some secure basis for the employment of their abilities, their talents, their labors—to live like normal Americans of generations past, to work, to marry, to raise their children in prosperity and peace. This is their modest and earnest appeal to their public officials. We must not fail them.

WE MUST STAY OUT OF WAR

Our people resent the efforts of those who would disturb the peaceful course of this nation and attempt to make them victims of death and destruction on the blood-drenched soil of Europe. They will be deeply aroused at foreign propaganda whether conducted by paid professionals, English, French, German, Italian, Russian or other kind, whether emanating from misguided individuals or groups sympathetic to one side or the other. They insistently proclaim that the United States must keep out of war. They are already enraged by the misrepresentations of those who would involve us on pretext of saving alleged democracies in Europe. They are not so ignorant of history as not to realize that nations in the past kept themselves free from European wars and troubles. Sweden, Finland, Denmark, Switzerland, Spain, Norway and others found no difficulty in remaining out of these disputes, and they and other nations are finding no difficulty now in resisting efforts to embroil them. Many of them

have already proclaimed to the world affirmative decrees of strict neutrality. To be sure these nations are small but apparently to some Americans the bigness and wealth of some nations stultify the moral courage to be neutral when war involves them.

A preponderant and overwhelming mass of our citizens demands the United States follow this wise example of non-involvement pursued by these smaller nations even in the face of their geographical proximity, as contrasted with the vast ocean that separates us from Europe.

One great force in the world will welcome this war. The destruction, waste and chaos of another world war would enable the function of its ideologies. That force is Communism. It is stealthily at work in many places. Well they know that when war comes, the death knell will be sounded for free democratic government in Europe; the tyranny of the proletariat, the godless hosts of irreligion and destruction would replace all vestiges of free government and Democracy would be lost to Europe.

Should that result eventuate—and we pray it will not—we must not be found unprepared. America must be ready for any eventuality, however remote, which threatens the security of our ideals and institutions in the future; be prepared to meet any enemy, or any combinations of enemies which may seek to undermine or overthrow our American government. When the time comes to fight, and it well may, even before we expect it, whether it be Fascism, Nazism, Communism, or any other ism or power, in defense of American soil, American principles, and aspirations of freedom, equality and justice, let us be equipped to annihilate such aggressors. Till that day comes, while making ready for any challenge to our rights, let us be tolerant of others, neutral in word and deed, repel all smooth talk or propaganda hostile to our safety, and continue ceaselessly to work to avert war and preserve peace.

The European Crisis from a Humanitarian Standpoint

ROBERT I. GANNON, S.J.

Extracts from an address delivered over the Columbia Radio Network by the President of Fordham University on August 31, 1939, the day before the invasion of Poland and the consequent declaration of war.

FEW things are more reassuring in times like these than the files of an old newspaper or a collection of sermons running back a thousand years. For we learn from such sources that the general public has always had two conspicuous groups: one knowing nothing about the past, and caring nothing about the future, has always assumed that its own generation is perfection; the other, knowing as little about the past as the first group, but sick with anxiety about the future, has always expected the dogs to fall heir to the universe. So, glancing through old files of faded journals, we notice these two themes constantly recurring, half of the people are laughing at the past, half of them are weeping over the present and the days to come. The sermons on the other hand, have only one theme, woe. They all begin "there never was a time when," and yet, one could preach the same sermon a hundred different times in the last thousand years and everyone would think that it was written for the occasion.

The growing laxity of personal morals has always startled everyone over fifty, the increasing godlessness and confusion in education, the chaotic changes which are coming over the governments of the world have alarmed every thinking man in a dozen different generations. If you read your Spengler or Husinga, and take them seriously, you will want to give up now. You will

want to climb right into the Ark, shut the door and ride the flood. But that is because you belong to a mature generation. You have been battered by years, you are conscious of difficulties, wearied by problems and depressed by the logic which tells you that if things go on as they are, civilization will simply fly apart.

Fortunately, however, there is always an element in the world too young to worry. There is always a buoyant surge of life coming up from below, strong, confident, happy and ignorant, but part of their ignorance is a blessing in disguise. For the difficulties and complexities which we have watched accumulating these thirty years and more present for them a normal problem. This they proceed to attack with forces we no longer possess, and as a result, somehow, the world keeps turning. There is, besides, in the background, a destiny which shapes our ends, a Divine Providence, an All Wise, All Holy and All Powerful God who has a mysterious and wonderful way of bringing good out of evil.

So without undue alarm we turn to an alarming situation. The sands of government are shifting again. Shoals are appearing where channels were before and the mainland is slipping away. Despite the prediction that it could not last five years, the Soviet has lasted over twenty. Millions of human lives have been sacrificed to it. Justice and beauty and all fine feeling are dead in Russia, but judged by its own standards, the Red Revolution has been a local success. For, a whole generation in a country of teeming millions has come to maturity, not in simple ignorance of God, but in bitter hatred of Him. An enormous country of great natural wealth has become a cancerous growth whose groups have spread into all the backward nations on its frontiers. A third of the world is poisoned, the rest of the world is sick. But here its success has ended. The effect of its impact on civilized people has been a severe disappointment to the old Bolsheviks.

For Lenin, Trotsky, and even Stalin himself sowed the dragon's teeth in Europe, and to their amazement a white dictator sprang from every Red revolution. Now, however, after a period of name-calling, dictators, Red and White, have seen how much they have in common.

Thus the situation grows more puzzling day by day and an observer might be forgiven for thinking that our problems of government are really something new under the sun. For it seems only yesterday, and it is in fact only twenty-five years ago, that the man in the street could regard the nations of the world as divided into republics and monarchies. It was not as simple as that, but it seemed so. Today the greatest confusion exists everywhere. People talk about Fascist and Communist, Democratic and Totalitarian, but the way they throw the labels around depends entirely on the point of view. A short time ago it was quite clear that the Democratic powers, that meant us and our friends, including the Soviet Republic, were inexorably opposed to Fascist aggression. But overnight our Russian "democrats" went Nazi and some of the Nazi allies began to interest the great Democracies. Europe proved to be a perfect mass of Mugwumps, and the old labels began to sound as quaint as Whigs and Tories. Only one thing was still certain . . . WAR, universal war, was a matter of hours. Well, hours have passed and now the poor common people of the world, like you and me, are looking up in bewilderment afraid to smile as yet, but actually hoping again for peace.

It is difficult to disassociate in our emotions Germany and Hitler, and Hitler is the most pestilential and altogether infuriating character in modern times. But let this be said of the unpopular side. Germany as a nation has a natural right to its existence. That means its economic existence. That means its raw materials. The way in which Hitler has gone about his self-appointed task has enraged the civilized world.

He has trampled on human rights and flouted common decency. But we have to admit that the Versailles Powers never thought of justice to Germany until there was a show of force.

Only when the great European Powers are able to forget conquests, aggression, imperialism and bombast long enough for a general conference, only then can we hope for anything like equity. True, we can never expect them to act without passion, but in the present instance, the predominant passion is universal fear and that can lead to a spirit of equity almost as quickly as universal love. This does not contradict Saint Thomas who says *pax proprius effectus caritatis*, peace is the effect of which charity is the cause. For fear will give us at least a temporary peace, a working space wherein things can be so disposed that charity will develop, and from charity will come the tranquillity of lasting order. This peace of charity, of equity, is the peace of renunciation which seemed to puzzle the press when Pius XII mentioned it in a letter to the Canadian Semaine Asociale. He said "one truth among all the rest will appear in all its effulgence, the necessity of attaining the great benefits of justice and peace through the road of sacrifice which leads us all to renounce rather than to demand." What the Powers would never consider through charity they are seriously considering through fear—renunciation. Nor should anyone shrink from a just peace on the ground that it will glorify Herr Hitler. For observers tell us that two things will destroy Nazism in Germany with equal effectiveness, a disastrous war or a just peace. For if the Germans were happy again and prosperous and all the hysteria of foreign attack were removed, it would not take them a month to realize that they have been for all these years deluded by a madman.

Democracy and Its Counterfeits

JOSEPH C. HUSSLEIN, S.J.

"RULE of the people" is the literal translation of the word "Democracy." Yet direct government of the people by themselves, except perhaps in some small Commonwealth, is evidently impracticable. Democratic government, therefore, will normally be through representatives. This is conformable to the ideal of a democratic State as memorably expressed by Lincoln in his famous watchword: "Government of the people, by the people, for the people." But what he had here in mind is a Constitutional Democracy, in which due limits are set to the power of representatives and the will of the majority.

In establishing a State the people are free to choose whatever just method of government they may wish to select. The Church expresses no preference for one form over another. All alike are acceptable to her, provided that no rights are violated and the spirit of charity does not suffer. It is for the people themselves to make their choice.

It has become an almost conventional usage to group together "the democracies" of the modern world. The term thus used was not meant to be all-inclusive. It was employed to signify merely the three great democracies considered as world powers—England, France and the United States, vastly different from each other though these three are. In the same manner we are accustomed to group together the three powerful "totalitarian states," essentially undemocratic and in fact strictly autocratic as they are—Italy, Germany and Russia. Undoubtedly the furthest removed among these from all concepts of Democracy is Russia, while the least in opposition to the spirit of Democracy, though marked off from it by a clear and

unmistakable line of demarcation, is Italy. In all three the democratic ideal is consciously and methodically eliminated as unsuited to our times.

Russia, however, under its Soviet dictator and its small Bolshevik party bureaucracy, is willing to have its Muscovite doctrines deceitfully insinuated in democratic countries under the endearing name of Democracy. That is its heralded method of the Popular Front, whose purpose is to attract by false democratic titles both masses and intellectuals into its auxiliary organizations, such as the Communist-controlled League for Peace and Democracy. Even to Catholics they deceptively offer "the outstretched hand," while openly slandering the Catholic hierarchy and thus purposing to drive a wedge between the people and their pastors.

At complete odds as we naturally must also be with Fascism and Nazism, if we claim to stand firm for democratic principles, yet the frank opposition professed by these ideologies to democratic forms of government is a thousand times preferable to the dishonest method by which Marxism, Leninism, Stalinism, Communism, Bolshevism, or by whatever other name we may call this new form of atheistic totalitarian State Capitalism spawned in Moscow, is daily passing itself off in our midst as true Democracy. It is this act of the wolf in sheep's clothing that renders its promoters dangerous. Their very claim of a democratic "Dictatorship of the people," when in reality they mean a "Dictatorship over the people" by a small Bolshevik group within each State, should render them suspect by any thinking man.

All this, however, is perfectly consonant with Communist ethics as well as with Communist tactics. To Lenin it was an unthinkable weakness in a revolutionist not to be ready to tell at all times the most unblushing falsehood when this could serve the purpose of his cause. The same was the principle of Marxian So-

cialists before his day. That alone is by them considered ethical which promotes the cause. The Ten Commandments are abolished and denounced. On this same fundamental principle Moscow is at all times ready to acquire willing subjects or at least financial aid from those whom it despises, and all this in the high name of Democracy. Bolshevistically controlled organizations are everywhere formed with no other lure than this to attract their dupes. "Snares for woodcocks" was the expression used in earlier days to characterize this method. And yet we hardly can excuse for their folly the many men and women who allow themselves thus to be lured into societies whose ultimately undemocratic and anti-religious tendencies they cannot help sooner or later to sense and to perceive. But then, perhaps, they fear to withdraw or are caught fast in the toils.

Another method, most widely used in the press today, is to acknowledge only two possible forms of government—Fascism and Bolshevism. The later is then made synonymous with Democracy. Hence we have the monstrous implication that runs through all their propaganda literature, daily filling the pages of newspapers, magazines and books, that if we are opposed to Bolshevism we of necessity must be Fascists—as if Democracy were not a third term that in nowise coincides with Communism, with its destruction of liberty of the press, liberty of speech, liberty of worship; its mass murders, purges and snares! To favor Democracy is to stand irrevocably opposed alike to Fascism and to Bolshevism!

In Red Spain alone, as we know from the most accurately compiled figures, at least 11,000 priests were assassinated by the combined Anarchist-Communist crew, with the full approbation of such conduct by the Communist regime in power. Many of these men, with no crime but their Catholic Faith and their Catholic priesthood, were most cruelly tortured. But the minis-

ters of God hunted down with the most acrimonious hatred were precisely those priests and religious who had particularly devoted themselves to the welfare of the workingmen and of the poor. Yet this regime was successfully palmed off on an unsuspecting public as ideally democratic. To breathe one word against it was to face ostracism, as a Fascist.

And all this travesty, dreadful as it is, has been perpetrated in the name of Democracy! Such has been the delusion cunningly and successfully practised on the public by those ready to bring the world under the bloody heel of a Bolshevik dictatorship.

And yet there is one hope which emerges from all this. Clear as the day itself is the fact that, in the United States, France and England, men do respect Democracy. To cajole men into giving their adherence to any otherwise abhorrent cause, "Democracy" is the one word used to win confidence, loyalty and respect; the one term that can be counted on to arouse enthusiasm and spur on to action. Whatever they do, men would yet make themselves believe that they are acting in the name of Democracy.

It was said of old that the fine word "patriotism" was made the cloak for every villainy. We might substitute today the word "democracy," at least in all countries where this can still exercise its charm. We can hardly hear of a new organization formed that vaunts the title of Democracy, without having just reason to be suspicious that it may be but another Communist subterfuge, another instrument to serve as an auxiliary to finance and promote Communism. Even the advertisements of purely Communist propaganda meetings will often carry no reference to any other cause than Democracy. Yet the destruction of this would be the inevitable outcome of the revolution constantly instigated in every country by the Moscow International.

Sensible men have experienced many shocks in recent years. Neither in Russia, nor in Germany, nor in

Spain did sensible men have the least suspicion of what was lying in wait for them. Lenin and Hitler could not have foretold it, although both dreamed of it, and their dreams came true. There are many men dreaming dreams today as to what is to happen to democratic countries tomorrow, and they, too, are men of action. It takes a handful only to start a revolution at the opportune time. Just when that might come no one can tell. It is just not a matter about which sensible men can sensibly reason, but the atmosphere is sufficiently surcharged for all sensible men to know that prudence and vigilance are both imperative, and strenuous action no less is demanded of them, if they are to do their part to preserve Democracy intact.

There is reason to fear that at least a qualified Fascism, under the same blessed name of Democracy, might make a distinctively national approach. There is reason to fear as well that a more ruthless Bolshevism, with its democratic mask, may enter at the backdoor while the master of the house is asleep. In fact it is blatant and brazen enough, with its army of intellectuals, its amazing capture of literary criticism, movies and press, to use to full advantage any opportunity that may offer itself such as that of plunging the country into a war out of which Bolshevism alone can emerge the gainer.

But to sustain Democracy a negative attitude is far from sufficient. There is an economic despotism described by Pope Pius XI in his Encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno*, which may no less be accepted as Democracy than the Bolshevik counterfeit created for American and English consumption. Economic oligarchy is not Democracy. The worker is no more to be made a slave to this than to a more bloody Leninism or Stalinism. Political freedom alone, consisting in the vote, while it gives him a measure of power, is not adequate without such a degree of economic freedom as is becoming to man made after the likeness of God.

The Peace of Christ

Reprinted from Orate Fratres

FOR months the world has been despairingly beating off war, hoping against hope that some *modus vivendi* might be reached. But it was not to be. Human efforts have failed. Once again God has permitted the horrors of war to envelop mankind. Will man learn the lesson this time: that mere human effort will always fail? that peace is the "tranquillity of order" (Saint Augustine and Saint Thomas), and that order is possible only by common submission to Him who disposes all things?

Dominus det nobis suam pacem—May God grant us His peace, we pray daily in the Divine Office. Peace is *His gift*. And rejecting Him necessarily involves the radical rejection of peace. "The abandonment of the old religious traditions (of Christianity) did not bring humanity together in a natural and moral unity, as the eighteenth-century philosophers had hoped. On the contrary, it allowed the fundamental differences of race and nationality, of class and private interest, to appear in their naked antagonism" (Dawson).

In the catastrophe of world conflict that has overtaken mankind, let us remember the liturgy's lesson in regard to peace. Only He who converts the hearts of men can give us true peace. And however much we use human means to bring the war to an end, far more necessary is it to storm heaven to "compel even men's rebellious wills" to return to Him "Who is our peace" (Eph. ii, 14). The peace-bringing Sacrifice of Calvary, made present on our altars, the Sacrament of "unity and peace" (*Secret*, Corpus Christi), these are the efficacious means given us by God to attain the lasting peace of Christ.

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First Issue — February, 1940

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